/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

85] But these games are practically only for town children or
[349] those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[524] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /25/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

[128 cont.]

requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the sexual order established in the community is the frequent representation of the sexual act of animals combined with other dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some examples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making believe it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Outside the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock, and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing, they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he announces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who becomes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

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536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-196.

[131 cont.]

796 821 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the [609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries [797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the [114 127] data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 796 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

526 796 [132 cont.]
men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a putchi, or intercian war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 796 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance, which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms, is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman endeavors to overthrow the man.

536 796 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradition of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statemenns about their theatrical plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one, showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only, or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira. The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra apart. The components of each group hold each other round the waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
539 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Amh pif (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other. "Kasfchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots (Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south country. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well content. The rains have come to our crops are in good condition. We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again; our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
791 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[125] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[713] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is customary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group rep-
[524] resents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

[138 cont.]

The play starts when the peccaries gather in a group, pretending by their position and their movements that they are inside the cave which is their refuge. The chief of the dog group begins to sing while these gather round him, and he harangues them to go in and kill the peccaries and not let themselves be beaten by them. The group of peccaries answer threateningly and hasten to defend themselves. The dogs approach their prey cautiously and single out one from among the group. A struggle starts between a dog and one of the peccaries, both fighting desperately for mastery, each player striving to grab his adversary by his loincloth to lift him in the air and throw him to the ground. The struggle is fierce and stubborn, because they usually select the most hardened fighters and well-muscled men to represent both the peccaries and the dogs. It continues until one of the combatants is floored by the other, in which case he admits defeat. The winner's group marks up one point. When the first pair have finished their match, a new one is started between two other Indians, and so on successively until all the representatives of the two groups have participated. In the development of the personal struggles between dog and peccary, each singer incites his man, exhorts him to greater efforts, etc. Finally, they add up the score of points obtained by each group, and the winner receives a prize, consisting generally of food.

10. The fox and the rabbit. Three personages take part in this act: one who acts as a fox, one as a rabbit, and a child who has the role of a watermelon [patilla]. The game consists in seeing which of the two animals, the fox or the rabbit, will get the watermelon they are fighting for. Both of them want to steal it. So each one of them seizes the child (who is twelve or thirteen years old) by an arm, and he who can pull him away from the other is considered the winner. [139]

To better understand this play, it is well to state that while in La Guajira we collected a story about the fox and the rabbit which is published in Revista de Folklore (67) in which there is also

67. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. "La Chama, un mito guajiro" [The Chama, a Guajiro Myth].

526 [139 cont.]
536 shown a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale,
716 the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

536 13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to
716 terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending
[539] groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of
[649] the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men and women crawl along together, imitating the movements of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast. Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said that he had a few things that I might well find interesting and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Francisco had evidently described how they smoked and made a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit. 775

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious offense to mention a dead person by name. 769 551

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete. 526

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely. 574 756 [582 535]

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent. 534

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be masticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another 273